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Thursday, 7 October 1993 at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President IZETBEGOVIC: Let me begin by extending, on behalf of the people and Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, our most heartfelt condolences to the peoples and Governments of both Venezuela and India, which have recently been hit severely by the tragedy of disaster. It is our hope that both countries, through the will and spirit of their peoples, will recover quickly.

May we also extend our sympathies to those countries and families that have lost loved ones under the United Nations flag in Bosnia and Herzegovina in attempting to carry out their mission of peace and humanity. Indeed, our sympathies go out to all families of United Nations personnel in all peace-keeping missions throughout the globe who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of the United Nations Charter.

We should also like to congratulate the Palestinian and Israeli people on their recent efforts towards peace. We are likewise happy to see the great strides towards democracy being made in South Africa.

Mr. President, it is my pleasure and privilege to extend to you our sincerest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. Your election to this high office reaffirms the importance of the role that small States play in the family of nations.

We should also like to extend our appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stojan Ganev, our Balkan colleague, for conducting the deliberations of this body with great expertise and commitment.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is pleased to welcome the Organization's newest Members: Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, the Republic of Macedonia and the Slovak Republic. We are confident that these Members will uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The international community has neither a definite policy nor a clear plan of political action that would facilitate a transition from the Communist structures that have been in power for 50 years to concepts based on

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freedom and democracy. We believe that it is impossible to find solutions for either global or local conflicts unless a clear stand is taken on the overall question of what the post-Communist heritage is to be.

The negative aspects of this problem have been fully illustrated in the case of my country. It is obvious that the remaining forces of the Communist potential for aggression have been exercised against us and that an extirpation of chances for democratic development has been perpetrated before the eyes of Europe, America and the whole world. This act is being carried out entirely by force, in forms ranging from aggression and mass murder of civilians to destruction of all traces of civilization and culture and the extermination of whole nations by the barbaric tactics of burned and destroyed land.

Simultaneously with this unprecedented violence, an experiment in political vivisection is being carried out against our country. It is being carried out by an international community that, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has obviously been testing various models for the post-Communist State. The experiment, unfortunately, is being performed *in vivo* by testing various hypotheses on our living national and governmental organism. In this experiment, our people are dying, and so is our country and our State.

The first experiment was performed by the London Conference. This concept, which sought to stop the aggression, was abandoned without a single attempt to implement it; and this only intensified the war on our soil. This was followed by an attempt to find a solution by means of constitutional, legal and political reform to a crisis that was becoming ever deeper. This project, known as the Vance-Owen plan, no one even attempted to implement. It was abandoned only to be replaced by a new one, which is based on the false thesis that what we have in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a civil war between the three peoples and that territorial partition is therefore the only solution.

But this plan is being fulfilled neither with respect to the idea that the partition of the land should be carried out in accordance with the criterion of ethnic majority, nor with respect to the basic intention of bringing about peace. As a result, the uncontrollable unfolding of events will continue, and will cause nothing but new suffering for our people.

Now the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being asked to choose between a just, defensive war and an unjust peace. The war, if continued, is likely to cause further suffering for our people and the further destruction of our nation. It could mean the death of thousands more.

The unjust peace plan is flawed because it is based upon the repugnant and historically failed concept of ethnic partition and apartheid. The flaw is compounded by the fact that even the partition is unfair, since it seeks to satisfy the aggressor's appetite for an inequitably large share at the expense of the victim.

However, the flaws in the so-called peace plan being forced upon us are not merely philosophical. First, any plan that legitimizes genocide and promotes ethnic partition will most likely sow the seeds for new aggression and fuel the fires of retribution. Secondly, any peace that does not address the true causes of war will, at best, offer only temporary, remedial relief rather than promoting the healing that is essential. Finally, any peace plan that makes no provision for a viable Bosnian State, that does not address even the most basic needs of the victim and that does not provide the necessary measures for real implementation and durability is, in the end, not a plan for real peace.

Last week's provisional acceptance by the Bosnian Parliament of the peace proposals is dependent on the same minimal adjustments that we have consistently held to be necessary for a durable peace. These adjustments are the following:

First, the Bosnian Republic within the proposed Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be viable geographically, economically, politically and defensively.

Secondly, the aggressor forces must surrender control of the territories where they have slaughtered and expelled civilian populations so that the Bosnians can return to their homes. Well over half a million refugees would find it impossible to return to villages, towns and cities from which they were expelled if Serbian forces that committed murder, rape and torture were to continue to control those territories. There is the option that some of those territories could be temporarily administered by international peace-keeping forces.

Thirdly, the final agreement must contain comprehensive and specific guarantees concerning its implementation from those nations and regional organizations that will actually be enforcing the peace. Such guarantees must be an integral part of the peace accords and cannot be delayed until a later date.

Otherwise, we risk adopting another agreement or commitment that will, like so many others previously, become worthless for peace and of value only to further legitimize the aggressor.

Fourthly, in the event that the international community is not successful in implementing the peace plan, then we must be allowed to arm and defend ourselves.

Consistent with its authority and unavoidable responsibility, the Security Council should evaluate the plan prepared by Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg to determine its consistency or inconsistency with the United Nations Charter and numerous resolutions previously adopted by the Council.

The Council cannot escape its responsibilities and the inherent inconsistencies by hiding behind the frequently repeated excuse that it will accept whatever all the parties agree to, when one party, the victim, is under the pressure of the very real threat of genocide.

As further negotiations on these matters continue, the mediation team should be enlarged to include a representative of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which will most likely be the agent of enforcement. This would add a degree of clarity, direction and credibility to the talks that has been lacking so far.

Now, let me bring to the Assembly's attention the impending humanitarian tragedy unfolding in my country. On behalf of all Bosnians, I must first thank the United Nations and all the friendly Governments, private institutions and heroic individuals that have helped provide humanitarian assistance in Bosnia. We profoundly appreciate the efforts that have so far saved many lives. But with the coming of winter, more help will be needed if our wounded and malnourished population is to avoid finally succumbing to starvation, disease and exposure. In this effort it is essential that the international community and its most capable members and relevant regional organizations do the following: first, take steps to encourage and enforce the maintenance of the cease-fires recently agreed to by all the relevant forces; secondly, take steps, as envisioned in several Security Council resolutions, to stop the blockage of humanitarian relief and other essential supplies such as water, electricity and gas; thirdly, reopen Tuzla Airport, making possible the delivery of humanitarian relief to over a million people; and, fourthly, establish clear demands for the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo as a first step towards the lifting of all sieges of Bosnian towns, including the safe areas designated by Security Council resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993).

Our Bosnian minority in Serbia, the Muslims of Sandzak, have been deprived of their rights. Many people who have defended the rights of their countrymen have been imprisoned or expelled. While the Serbian regime has ostensibly been protecting the rights of ethnic Serbs in Croatia, it has not been willing to recognize those same rights for minorities in Serbia. We demand the same rights for the Muslims of Sandzak as those that Serbs are demanding for themselves in Croatia. Future negotiations cannot neglect this very important political and human-rights issue.

As United States President Clinton recently stated before this body, the United Nations cannot become involved in every world conflict. United Nations involvement should only be undertaken with a clear political and military strategy in place. Tragically, United Nations involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina has so far shown the very antithesis of any clarity of objective and firmness of resolve. The moral void created by this confusion has naturally been filled with a determination to defer to the aggressor's wishes at the expense of the victim. The United Nations intervention, in its half-heartedness and equivocation, combined with its proud insistence that it is getting the job done and that therefore we cannot be allowed to arm ourselves, may well go down in history as the principal instrument of my country's destruction.

In this regard, a few unavoidable questions arise. Why has there been no implementation of Security Council resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993) calling for the lifting of the siege of our cities? What has happened to the Security Council's demands in resolution 752 (1992) for the withdrawal of all Serbian military and paramilitary units from our country along with their heavy weapons? Why has there been no implementation of Security Council resolutions 787 (1992) and 838 (1993), which were to monitor the border between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and prevent the continuing massive flow of arms and material going to the aggressors in Bosnia?

It is no longer possible to speak of non-intervention. The international community's involvement in Bosnia began with the imposition of the arms embargo and has continued through this whole series of unfulfilled commitments. The United Nations must either follow

through with its intervention or decide to rescind that intervention. One way or another, it cannot continue with the present policy, which makes it an accomplice in the destruction of the Bosnian people.

My Government remains committed to peace and to the ideals of a pluralistic, democratic and multi-religious society. Unfortunately, some of the very nations that espouse these ideals world wide have betrayed them by inaction, and in their own backyards. We cannot indefinitely continue a struggle on principle without adequate help from outside or without at least being afforded the full opportunity to defend ourselves.

The action of our Parliament is clear in its commitment to peace, its demands for a viable State and a durable peace. Principles have been shamelessly abandoned by those who had the greatest duty and reason to uphold them in our country. We cannot and will not accommodate the anxieties of those same Governments and allow them to pressure us to abandon our last hope for self-preservation and a real and durable peace.

Although there has been a process through which many witnesses to this crime have become anaesthetized to its horror, the horror itself will never go away, and future generations of the righteous and the just in every nation will neither forgive nor trust the countries which allowed it to happen. At least a billion people are waiting for this body to act. Are Members really ready to surrender Bosnia and its people to annihilation? Those billion people I have mentioned, and not only they, will never forgive you.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

The PRESIDENT: May I remind delegates once again that any congratulations to be expressed to speakers should be done through the delegations in the aisles adjoining the plenary.

Mr. AL-MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: On behalf of my delegation, may I condole through the delegation of India, with the Government and people of India over the natural calamity which has befallen that great people. Allow me, at the outset, to congratulate you sincerely on your election to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I should also like to express my country's appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, for his constructive efforts. We hope that in continuing to play a constructive role in the new international environment the General Assembly will benefit from your diplomatic skills and broad experience.

May I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dedication to the United Nations and for his efforts aimed at reforming the Organization at this critical juncture.

I should like also to welcome the new countries that have joined the United Nations. We are confident that their membership will enhance the role of the Organization and further universal acceptance of its principles and purposes, which aim at establishing and strengthening international peace and security and ensuring that justice is done.

Today, the people of the Jamahiriya celebrate the anniversary of the departure of the last remnants of Fascism from Libyan soil, thus putting an end to a period in its history that was characterized by the domination of settler-colonialism, a period during which injustice and persecution prevailed. As our people celebrate this anniversary today, they reaffirm that relations between Libya and the State from which those settlers came are now relations of good-neighbourliness, based on understanding and cooperation in every field.

During the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, there were numerous developments in the international situation. However, before I speak of my country's position on those developments, allow me to start with a question which is of great importance to us and which is not unrelated to those recent international developments. Rather, it is one of their by-products. It has to do with the tendency of certain countries to impose solutions to their differences with other countries in a manner that is not consonant with the Charter of the United Nations or with international norms and conventions. In so doing, those countries tend to deliberately apply double standards, especially when the

dispute is with a country that pursues independent policies and adopts unsubmissive positions. This is the case with regard to the dispute that arose between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and France, Britain and the United States of America, when the three countries declared that they suspected the involvement of Libyan nationals in the Pan American and UTA plane incidents and demanded that two Libyan citizens be handed over to stand trial in Scotland or the United States of America. Notwithstanding the fact that the Libyan authorities, once notified, took the appropriate legal steps, the other parties refused to cooperate with the Libyan authorities or to await the results of their ongoing investigations. Instead, they resorted to the Security Council and directed it to deal with this matter under Chapter VII of the Charter, which has nothing to do with the issue in question. Libya has not threatened anyone, nor has it endangered international peace and security. The whole thing is a question of suspicions and allegations that have to be investigated through judicial channels.

Although my country realizes that this matter has been addressed, intentionally, within a framework that is totally incompatible with its legal character, it has continued to investigate the whole issue, as it has done since it was notified of the matter, because it is determined to uncover the circumstances and facts surrounding the case. Libya has also declared its readiness to cooperate by responding to the requirements of Security Council resolution 731 (1992), which include cooperation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure the success of the mission entrusted to him by that resolution.

In this respect, my country has reiterated its condemnation of international terrorism in every shape and form. It has severed relations with all organizations and entities suspected of being involved in terrorist acts and has affirmed that it will not allow its territory, institutions or citizens to be used, directly or indirectly, for the carrying out of such acts. It has declared its readiness to punish severely those proven guilty of involvement in terrorist activities. My country has also declared that there are no terrorist training camps on its soil and has invited the Security Council, or any other international body the Council may choose, to investigate and verify this.

In addition, my country has cooperated with the Government of the United Kingdom in trying to find individuals whom the British Government has accused of involvement in terrorist acts. More than one meeting has been held in this respect, and British officials have confirmed the Jamahiriya's positive cooperation with them in this matter. Moreover, in order to determine the responsibility for the bombing of the French UTA plane, more than one meeting has been held between the Libyan investigative judge and his French counterpart. Contacts are ongoing with the French authorities to arrange the French judge's visit, and his mission will be facilitated, provided he arrives in a peaceful and civilized manner and not in the manner of sixteenth-century gunboat diplomacy.

I have spoken briefly of the measures taken by Libya in response to the stipulations of Security Council resolution 731 (1992). As regards the determination of responsibility for these terrorist acts to which the American and French planes were subjected, my country took legal and investigative measures and has called on the British and American authorities to cooperate in completing the investigation. It has also called on neutral bodies and international and humanitarian organizations to verify the fairness of the investigations.

Concerning its contribution to the eradication of international terrorism, the aforementioned practical measures prove my country's seriousness in stamping out this phenomenon. Libya's eagerness to eliminate international terrorism was embodied in our call for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to study the causes and dimensions of the problem.

The matter that has not yet been resolved is that relating to the request by the British and American authorities to turn over the two suspects to stand trial in the courts of one of those countries. My country has spared no effort in seeking to resolve this problem in accordance with the conventions of legality. We offered to go to the International Court of Justice and we proposed surrendering the two suspects to the United Nations office in Libya for investigation. We also proposed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations establish a legal fact-finding committee to examine the verisimilitude of the accusations and carry out a comprehensive investigation.

The competent authorities in my country put this problem before the Basic People's Congresses - the legislative authority - in Libya, which adopted a decision wherein they stated they would not object to the suspects being tried before an unbiased and fair court agreed upon by all concerned. On this basis, my country announced its readiness to enter into negotiations with the countries concerned, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on a venue for the trial that could be agreed upon by all parties to the dispute and that would guarantee an

environment conducive to revealing the truth. To our minds, this is the substance of Security Council resolution 731 (1992). The Secretary-General was notified of this step in December 1992 and again last July, when he was informed that Libya was prepared to discuss the proceedings and arrangements relating to the trial.

The position taken by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya concerning these disputes met with widespread approval from various States and regional organizations, including the Non-Aligned Movement, which is made up of some 110 States (see the Jakarta Message, A/47/675); the Organization of the Islamic Conference, with its 54 members (resolutions 6/20 and 21/14); the League of Arab States, which has 22 members (resolutions 5156, 5158, 5161, 5224 and 5281); and, last but not least, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which consists of more than 50 States. The OAU, in resolution 1457, expressed appreciation for Libya's initiatives towards the resolution of this dispute and commended Libya's readiness to cooperate with the legal and judicial authorities and called upon the Security Council to review resolution 748 (1992) with a view to lifting the embargo imposed on Libya.

The positions taken by these organizations show that they see the justice of the Libyan viewpoint, and also highlight their interest in playing their roles in resolving the dispute by peaceful means according to Chapter VIII of the Charter. It was hoped that the three States concerned would take these positions into consideration and respond to the Libyan initiatives, but our efforts have been rejected. Moreover, the States concerned have discredited both the flexibility and responsiveness of the Libyan position and have insisted, in contravention of international laws and practices, on the extradition of the suspects to the United States or Britain to stand trial before the courts of one of those countries.

Libya has not, in principle, rejected the trial of the suspects, as it has confirmed from the very start. All Libya has asked for, and is still determined to obtain, is a legitimate and unbiased trial with all the legal and psychological guarantees that go with it. Intensive consultations and contacts in this regard were recently conducted, and their results were communicated to the Secretary-General on 24 September 1993. Libya considers the content of the Secretary-General's reply sufficient and acceptable, and, therefore, the only step left in the resolution of this problem is that of convincing the suspects to submit themselves to the Scottish judiciary. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is encouraging them to do so. This was communicated to the Secretary-General in two letters contained in document S/26523, dated 1 October 1993.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has responded pragmatically to the stipulations of Security Council resolution 731 (1992). Now it becomes necessary not only to abandon the efforts aimed at tightening the sanctions imposed by resolution 748 (1992), but to lift those sanctions immediately. This is why we appeal to this Assembly, which represents the conscience of the world, to support the measures that have been called for by the international and regional organizations I have mentioned.

The sanctions have caused the Libyan people much misery and have cost them billions of dollars in material losses, to which must be added the deaths of hundreds of children, women and elderly people. I do not want to go into detail, for we have elaborated on this in 14 documents, the latest of which is document S/26139. However, in brief, let me say that the embargo has prevented about 8,525 patients with severe illnesses from travelling abroad for treatment. It has prevented college professors from travelling to Libya and has led to the suspension of contracts with hundreds of physicians. The embargo has caused the number of fatal road accidents to double because of the difficulty in transporting the injured to specialized hospitals in neighbouring countries. Also, the death rate among cattle has been high because of lack of immunization and a shortage of preventive medications. It has cut the revenue from economic activities by more than $2,400,000,000. Furthermore, there is a severe lack of spare parts for aircraft, which has led to a plane crash with 157 fatalities among passengers of various nationalities.

The easing of tensions in international relations has enabled the international community to achieve progress in the areas of disarmament and the protection of human rights. It has also enhanced international efforts aimed at solving disputes which, until recently, have been a source of great concern. This has included the reconciliation in Cambodia and the maintenance of stability in Central America. There are also positive signs regarding the attainment of lasting peace in Mozambique. Important steps have been taken towards full national reconciliation in Liberia, and the dispute in Rwanda is on its way to a final solution. However, these hopeful developments should not mask the fact that the world now is in the grip of unprecedented tensions and conflicts, which necessitate further efforts by the United Nations and regional organizations not only to resolve them but also to prevent certain countries from monopolizing the resolution of such

conflicts. The problem of Cyprus remains unsolved. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans in general has deteriorated and continues to cause much human misery. Afghanistan has not achieved total stability yet, and fighting in Angola has intensified. The national peace accords there have not been genuinely observed, regardless of the international and regional efforts deployed. The situation in South Africa has witnessed some positive developments, but an immediate stop must be put to the acts of violence which negatively affect the transformation of South Africa into a unified, democratic and non-racial State.

For more than four decades, the United Nations has continued to adopt numerous resolutions on the question of Palestine. Regardless, the Israelis have refused to comply with any of those resolutions, all of which recognize the inalienable and legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to return to their homeland. The provisions of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) on the right of return for refugees, of resolution 478 (1980) on Jerusalem, of resolution 3375 (XXX) on the right to self-determination and of resolution 799 (1992) on deportees are only a few dead letter examples. Despite the recent developments concerning the question of Palestine, the position of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya regarding this issue and the conflict in the Middle East remains as we have previously explained it, and let me now reiterate it: all occupied Arab territories should be liberated, and the Palestinian people should be supported until they have regained all their rights - the foremost of which being their right to self-determination, their right to return to their land and their right to establish in Palestine their own State, where both Arabs and Jews can live on an equal footing.

In another part of the Arab homeland, namely Somalia, the situation is still a source of grave concern. Although earlier efforts were successful in creating a safe environment for the distribution of humanitarian relief assistance to those suffering from the widespread famine, the recent events, which indicate that the circumstances have changed, show how sensitive the situation is in that region. My country, which has closely followed the developments in Somalia, remains convinced that solutions to problems cannot be imposed by force regardless of the enforcer. Solutions can be found only through dialogue and understanding.

First and foremost, the Somalis themselves should abandon their differences and work together to implement the agreements they have reached so that Somalia and its people may regain peace, security and stability.

Given our conviction that peace and security in the Mediterranean region is closely related, not only to security and cooperation with Africa and Europe, but also to world peace and security, the strengthening of security and cooperation in the region is a high priority for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. That is the reason why my country welcomed General Assembly resolutions in this regard as well as the resolutions adopted on the subject by other organizations, such as the Non-Aligned Movement. Once again, we declare that we welcome any and all initiatives aimed at removing the causes of tension, enhancing stability and expanding cooperation in the region.

My country is fully cognizant of the fact that the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region is a multidimensional issue. However, we continue to believe that withdrawal of foreign fleets and the closing down of foreign bases in this region constitute the essential elements. Such a step would enhance confidence-building in the area and channel resources towards economic and social development. At the same time, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believes that the use of dialogue and understanding - on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and in accordance with international norms and conventions - to settle differences would also constitute a basic element in restoring security and stability to the Mediterranean region. Moreover, intensified collaboration and coordination of efforts in areas of common interest would further enhance cooperation. For this reason, the Jamahiriya welcomes the steps taken within regional groupings such as the Arab Maghreb Union and the Western Mediterranean Grouping (5 + 5), as such steps constitute an important breakthrough towards the realization of peoples' aspirations after peace, security and cooperation.

Concrete progress has been made over the past few years in the area of disarmament, especially with regard to the reduction of nuclear-weapon stockpiles and accession by more countries to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. While it welcomes those developments, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya does not consider them to be sufficient and believes that the danger of nuclear proliferation requires further international efforts that would lead to the complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction in the case of every State that possesses, produces or stockpiles them. Consequently, my country supports all initiatives aimed at achieving this end, including the enhancement of the United Nations disarmament mechanisms and especially the Conference on Disarmament, whose work has been crowned by the Chemical Weapons Convention. This is an ambitious document on the road to general and complete

disarmament. However, my country has so far abstained from signing this Convention because of the existence in the region we live in of weapons of mass destruction that are not subject to international safeguards and inspection. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to consider the Chemical Weapons Convention without considering other weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, mainly nuclear weapons.

My country has supported the call for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, including the proposal by the Arab Republic of Egypt which calls for making the Middle East an area free of weapons of mass destruction. Based on my country's eagerness to stamp out the dangers of such weapons and in order to get rid of them, it has called on the United Nations to adopt the necessary measures to destroy nuclear, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, such as ballistic missiles, and to prohibit and criminalize the development, possession and use of all such weapons.

The international family's current efforts to establish security and stability in the world, mainly through the redoubling of efforts to contain political crises and end regional disputes, should be expanded to embrace economic problems as well. The impact of economic problems on international peace and security is not less dangerous than that of armed conflicts. According to the 1993 World Economic Survey, the world economy continues to stagnate. Its revitalization requires urgent international measures which would give special attention to the developing countries, which suffer from economic difficulties that arise from trade protectionism, large external debts, restrictions on the transfer of technology, the reverse flow of resources and low commodity prices.

In the context of the international community's efforts to promote economic and social development, my country wishes to draw attention to the danger of the coercive measures of various forms, to which some developing countries, including mine, are being subjected. Such measures constitute one of the main obstacles to development and run counter to the Charter, the rules of international law and to all relevant General Assembly resolutions.

Support for development efforts also requires the international community to honour its commitments to certain development programmes, such as the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Africa attaches great hope to this programme because it would help promote developmental efforts that began with the establishment of Africa's economic community and have been enhanced by the establishment of a number of subregional groupings such as the Arab Maghreb Union, which has taken important steps towards improving the use of the region's resources and towards strengthening the regional ties that would enhance the adoption of common policies by its member countries in the political, economic and social spheres.

Last year's Earth Summit yielded important results. We are satisfied with the measures adopted towards the realization of the Conference's objectives, especially the beginnings of a convention to combat drought and desertification. This is an extremely important issue for my country and for the whole North Africa region, which suffers from a shortage of water and is threatened by drought and creeping desertification. Furthermore, we believe that true determination to protect the environment lies in international cooperation and in honouring the commitments made at the Rio Conference. Protection of the environment is one of my country's top priorities. Our first step in combating drought and desertification is the great man-made river. Our national plans include the reclamation of thousands of hectares of desert for the purpose of agriculture and settlement.

In this respect, I must inform the Assembly that our efforts to expand environmental protection and maintenance are being hampered by the widespread presence of remnants of war, and of mines that were laid in Libya's soil during World War II. International and regional organizations have adopted numerous resolutions in this connection, and the General Assembly has also adopted similar resolutions, the latest of which was resolution 40/197. All those resolutions have called upon the countries responsible to provide the information and technical assistance required for the removal of those mines and other remnants of war, and to pay compensation for the damage caused. Today, we call once again upon those countries to shoulder their responsibility and to respond to the calls of the international community and the United Nations resolutions on the remnants and debris of war.

The adoption of international policies and programmes aimed at ensuring mankind's well-being and attaining the best possible standard of living is one of our objectives. On this basis, my country welcomes the convening of the International Conference on Population and Development next year, and of the World Conference on Women and the World Summit for Social Development in 1995. To our mind, these conferences will give a strong political impetus

to international efforts and activities aimed at stamping out underdevelopment, poverty and hunger. In welcoming these conferences, we are encouraged by the important results from the International Conference on Human Rights. They are a great achievement in the promotion of respect for human rights and basic freedoms.

My country which belongs to one of the great cultures of the world, namely the Arab-Islamic culture that has contributed greatly to the promotion of human rights, is determined to continue to support the international community's efforts, deployed through the United Nations and its organs, in the area of human rights, so that we may realize the goals of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

Given its interest in human rights which it considers to be the basis for development and prosperity, my country has worked to achieve and strengthen equality for all its citizens and to guarantee their rights. This has been stressed in the great green document on human rights and basic freedoms. The freedom enhancement act was promulgated in 1991, and a large number of international agreements in the area of human rights have also been ratified. In addition, the International Committee on the Qaddafi Award for Human Rights has been established.

The restructuring and reform of the United Nations and the democratization of the composition of its organs have become a necessity if the United Nations is to be enabled to meet international demands, become more responsive to the needs of Member States and more effective in its work, in consonance with the goals of the Charter.

My country has been following with interest the current attempts at reforming the United Nations in the economic and social fields. We welcome the decision on the revitalization of the General Assembly and the streamlining of its agenda. We hope that the ad hoc working group established for this purpose will reach a conclusion that strikes a balance between, and safeguards the interests of, all Member States.

The Secretary-General's proposals in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" are a valuable contribution towards enhancing the Organization's ability to meet the challenges of the coming period. My country welcomed those proposals, and has taken note of the two resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in this respect.

In carrying out the recommendations of the Agenda for Peace, the United Nations should be guided by the principles of the Charter and especially by its respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, as stipulated in resolution 47/120, and confirmed by resolution 47/233 adopted by the General Assembly just last month. The strengthening of the General Assembly so that it may perform the role entrusted to it by the Charter should be one of the main objectives in reforming the United Nations. The Security Council, which Member States have entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security on their behalf, should carry out its duties in a manner that fully conforms with the principles and purposes of the Charter and with international laws and norms. The Council should also improve its methods of work and adopt an objective course of action. It should not apply double standards when dealing with issues of world peace and security. The present facts on the ground necessitate an enlargement of the membership of the Security Council not through partial measures but through radical solutions that reflect the increase in the membership of the United Nations and take into consideration equal geographical distribution in accordance with the provisions of Article 23 of the Charter and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 47/62.

Within the context of the reform process, it is highly important to review some of the provisions of the Charter that are no longer in keeping with the great changes that have taken place in the international arena. The world situation in 1945 and the situation now are different. This requires the adoption of bold measures in relation to certain provisions of the Charter whose continued existence constitutes a major impediment to the most important role of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. Here, we refer to the veto power in the United Nations Security Council, which is held by a very few countries. The abolition of this privilege is something that has long been called for; calls for abolition have grown over the last few years. The position expressed by many countries, including my country, during the last session of the General Assembly and in other forums, confirms the widespread desire to abolish this privilege and highlights the fact that any collective security system that is subject to the veto power of some countries cannot be depended upon to maintain international peace and security.

In conclusion, as we prepare to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, and as we look forward

to the next 50 years, we are duty bound, both as States and as peoples, to lay down a strong and just foundation for the world of tomorrow. The world we aspire to is a world free from conflicts, disputes and wars; a world where the means of annihilation and destruction do not exist and where the manifestations of poverty and suffering have long disappeared; a world of security and stability built by people on the basis of virtue, justice and equality, where democracy and human rights are reinforced by the absence of violence, injustice and arbitrary acts; a world where all people have a genuine opportunity to look to the future with optimism and to enjoy peace, security and happiness by truly applying the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In contributing to the achievement of these goals, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya put forward a proposal designed to deal with and solve many of the problems and issues with which mankind is preoccupied. That proposal was circulated in document A/46/840 which I shall not address but which is available to representatives as an addendum to this statement.

Mr. GOMBOSUREN (Mongolia): At the outset, permit me to offer to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your professional experience as your country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations will undoubtedly be an asset in our important deliberations.

We pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, for his dedicated service. We applaud the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his bold and tireless efforts to strengthen the world Organization. We warmly welcome the new Members and wish them well.

A retrospective look at developments since the end of the cold war reveals the complexity of advancing towards a new fabric of international relations. On the one hand, the spirit of cooperation and interaction is becoming prevalent. The new democracies are making headway in the face of the formidable difficulties of transition. Recent events in Russia are ample evidence of this. We are confident that the democratic forces, led by President Yeltsin, will overcome the present ordeal and succeed in their endeavours. The significance for the region and the entire world of the success of Russia's reforms can hardly be overemphasized.

Mr. Ouedraogo (Burkina Faso), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

Furthermore, solutions are being found even to the most protracted regional conflicts. The recent historic act of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the interim peace agreement are a case in point. We hope that this will lead to a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

An important breakthrough towards democracy and a multiracial society in South Africa has been made. Peace and the national reconciliation that had eluded Cambodia for so long has been restored to this land of ancient civilization. Landmark agreements on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on the reduction of nuclear armaments have been concluded.

In the meantime, it is clear that old, deep-seated problems still await solutions and new ones, once held in check by the circumstances of the time, are emerging.

Indeed, no tangible progress has been registered in addressing the issues of poverty, external debt, drugs, organized crime, the widening gap between the affluent and the poor, and environmental crises. Though the cold war is over, the "hot wars" have multiplied. Suffice it to mention the continuing tragedies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia, Nagorny-Karabakh and Abkhazia.

It is widely recognized today that the concept of development has acquired a multidimensional character encompassing not only economic growth, but also political, social and environmental aspects. Moreover, greater emphasis is being placed on the human dimension of development, as in the final analysis the well-being of people stands as a true measurement of development. We believe that the United Nations is the only, and irreplaceable, mechanism to translate this concept into reality.

In this respect, the United Nations-sponsored world conferences on population and on women and the World Summit for Social Development are called upon to open up better prospects to that end. No lasting solution to today's various problems can be sought unless the developmental challenges are adequately addressed. The concept of development and its practical aspects will certainly be enriched by the Secretary-General's interim report on an agenda for development and its upcoming discussion during this session.

Now is the time resolutely to address the long-standing agenda relating to economic disparities between

the North and the South, including eradication of poverty, debt relief, elimination of trade protectionism and an early and successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. In this regard, Mongolia welcomes the meeting of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of Seven last July in Tokyo, which represents a first step towards re--launching the North-South dialogue. My delegation believes it important that following serious consideration by the Assembly, at this session, of the Non-Aligned Movement initiative on the reactivation of the North-South dialogue to strengthen international cooperation for development a positive decision be taken in this regard.

It is of signal importance that we maintain the momentum gained at the Rio Conference on Environment and Development through effective follow-up, at both the international and the national level. We commend the dynamic role of the Commission on Sustainable Development as a central political forum for the monitoring and review of the implementation of Agenda 21. Mongolia recently ratified the Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biodiversity; our national plan of action to implement Agenda 21 is being formulated.

As a country where desertification is a major challenge, Mongolia deems it necessary that a convention on that subject be concluded by 1995.

Mongolia believes that the observance of human rights in accordance with universally accepted norms is essential in promoting equitable cooperation among States. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms can in no way be reconciled with biased criteria which divide countries into big and small, developed and underdeveloped, majority and minority groups, or along ethnic, racial and religious lines. Furthermore, Mongolia proceeds from the premise that human rights and fundamental freedoms, as universal values, do not recognize borders.

It is of the utmost importance that the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, held last June, was able to reach an agreement on the indivisibility of economic, social, cultural, political and civil rights, and on the need to respect and implement them on an equal footing.

It is gratifying to note that with the demise of the cold war, propaganda on disarmament issues has faded away and a businesslike atmosphere of cooperation has taken shape. Earlier this year the Treaty on substantive reductions of strategic offensive armaments was concluded between the Russian Federation and the United States. Also, a commendable initiative with respect to a moratorium on nuclear testing took shape. The Geneva Conference on Disarmament has decided to commence negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

As a country uniquely positioned between the two nuclear-weapon Powers, Mongolia attaches exceptional importance to this issue. That is precisely why my country last year declared its territory a nuclear-weapon-free zone. In this context Mongolia welcomes the idea of turning Central Asia into such a zone.

The issue of the timely and full implementation of agreements on the reduction of nuclear weapons and the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons should not escape the priority attention of the world community. The cessation of nuclear-weapon tests and the strict observance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is acquiring special importance. We support the indefinite extension of the NPT at the review Conference in 1995. It is of great importance that the parties to the Treaty, especially the nuclear-weapon States, honour their commitments and refrain from any action that might undermine it.

Mongolia is entering its fourth year of democratic reforms. We, like many others in our position, are facing formidable challenges. As an underdeveloped, land-locked country inadequately integrated into the world transportation network, with a high vulnerability to natural calamities, Mongolia is experiencing added difficulties in its transition.

In addition to the political and economic reforms there is the onerous task of dealing with spiritual renewal. During the years of the socialist experiment, we Mongols were forced to abandon our centuries-old traditions and cultural heritage. Suffice it to say that virtually all the houses of worship - sanctuaries of spiritual life - over 700 in all, were destroyed, and the traditional script of the Mongols, an important cultural heritage of mankind, was buried in oblivion. The task is now to rectify this wrong. This is a nation-wide task requiring enormous efforts and resources; we cannot leave it to take care of itself.

For all the problems, Mongolia's democratic reforms are steadily gaining ground. The new democratic system of governance proclaimed in the 1992 democratic Constitution is being consolidated. The first-ever direct presidential elections, held last June, culminated in the choice of a President put forward by the new political parties. The legal foundation of the ongoing reforms is

being strengthened. It has come to embrace all the key aspects of societal life.

The present Government has set itself the task of checking the economic decline within a two-year period. And the target seems to be within the realm of the possible. We associate these gains primarily with the understanding and support of the international community. In recent years a donor community in support of Mongolia has emerged. A donor meeting sponsored recently by the World Bank held its third round in Tokyo, in which 23 countries and 6 international organizations took part. Grants and soft loans by donor Governments significantly help in alleviating the present difficulties, and lay a new basis for future development. In addition, we are keenly interested in attracting private-sector investment in Mongolia. This would not only contribute to economic recovery but would also help make future cooperation with our partners mutually advantageous. The revised Foreign Investment Law creates favourable conditions for such investment opportunities.

Furthermore, we consider that active involvement in regional economic cooperation is an essential factor in fulfilling the tasks of transition. With this in mind, we are interested, for instance, in becoming a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (APEC). We hope that the States members of that organization will find it possible to understand and support our position.

The United Nations has emerged as an important focal point of international efforts and has assumed greatly increased responsibilities in the areas of peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. The detailed report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization is a lucid illustration of that point.

Mongolia fully supports the efforts designed to reform the United Nations, especially to restructure and revitalize the activities of the General Assembly and to ensure that the composition of the Security Council reflects the changing realities of the day and the dramatically increased membership of the world Organization.

Today, the United Nations is wrestling with many problems and trying hard to ensure that it is able to meet the many challenges of a rapidly changing world. It goes without saying that the success of this undertaking will depend on painstaking efforts and, above all, on the political will and greater realism of Member States.

Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): I am most pleased to convey to Ambassador Insanally my congratulations and those of my delegation on his election as President of General Assembly at this session. At the same time, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria for guiding with skill and dedication the work of the Assembly at its previous session.

Let me pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the vision and the energy he has devoted to the leadership of our Organization at a difficult but exhilarating moment in history.

Allow me to express at this point the deep sympathies of my delegation for the people of India in connection with the tragedy visited upon them by the earthquake that devastated parts of the state of Maharashtra.

The President is presiding over the work of the Assembly in a world that continues its amazing political transformation. Since we met in this same Hall last year, a period that is but the twinkling of an eye in the long history of mankind, the world's political landscape has been further and radically transformed. That transformation is, above all, reflected in and exemplified by two of the major preoccupations that have exercised the Assembly and the international community for decades - namely, the situation in South Africa and the problem of Palestine.

The abhorrent system of apartheid, long the evil foundation of the South African State, has finally crumbled because of the unremitting efforts of the people of South Africa and of the international community, not least of the United Nations. In its place, multiracial negotiations - in themselves an amazing phenomenon in that country - have led to a specific programme with a precise timetable for the conversion of South Africa, in the words recently uttered in this Hall by that authentic leader of the South African people, Nelson Mandela, "into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country".

The whole situation in the Middle East, too, has been transformed, a transformation symbolized by a single handshake in Washington. That historic gesture resulted from complex combinations of circumstances and developments and presages further arduous negotiations and determined efforts by the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and their neighbours. But there is now, more than ever before, reason to trust that in that long-afflicted part of the world the politics of intolerance, hatred and despair

is being replaced by the politics of accommodation, enlightenment, pragmatism and hope.

Thus, the international community's political agenda, and the substance and content, if not the item-titles, of the Assembly's agenda, have radically changed.

The global economy is being transformed no less radically. Everywhere, obsolete obstacles to trade are coming down, if not yet globally, then within the various regions of the world. To be sure, economic barriers continue to be propped up by atavistic hands that seek to reverse the tide and hold back the march of global economic progress. The most obvious victim of these rearguard actions is the Uruguay Round, which, after years of frustrating negotiations and painstaking bargaining, has yet to come to a conclusion. The ultimate victims are the global economy and the livelihoods and standards of living of the world's peoples. Here, the accusing finger of history points at certain developed countries, with their short-sighted subsidies and protectionist devices. Nevertheless, the trend towards trade and economic liberalization gathers momentum. More and more nations recognize that that trend can be reversed only at the peril of the well-being of the world's peoples.

Our region of South-East Asia has been a vital part of the global political and economic transformation.

The conflict in Cambodia and the agony of the Cambodian people long preoccupied this Assembly as well as the Security Council. Going beyond the expectations of so many, the Cambodian people have made their historic decision for peace and reconciliation. We now call upon the international community to extend its support to the Cambodian people and their new Government so that they will find surcease not only from war, but also from poverty and want, and so that they will find not only peace, but a life of dignity and freedom.

The Declaration by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the South China Sea, which was issued in Manila last year, has received the strong endorsement of the United Nations and of individual Governments, and we in South-East Asia have continued our measured effort to build a regime of peace, cooperation and mutual confidence in that disputed area.

Earlier this year we in ASEAN, joined by the other nations of East Asia, including Viet Nam and Laos, and by others with interests in the region, agreed upon an ASEAN Regional Forum in which questions of regional security can be periodically examined and discussed together.

In East Asia, the rapid advance of economic liberalization has propelled the economies of the region to achieve some of the highest growth rates in the world. The commitment to the free market has found its most forceful expression in the decision of ASEAN's leaders to establish an ASEAN Free Trade Area through the steady reduction and eventual elimination of trade barriers within ASEAN.

Happily, the dawning of a new era of peace and the promise of prosperity in our region have found a bright reflection in my country. President Ramos' policy of national unity and reconciliation has replaced the politics of division. Dissident elements have been drawn back into the fold of society. Peace talks with the remaining disaffected groups are being held. Amnesty has been offered to all.

The economics of selfishness and greed is being replaced with reforms to secure economic fairness and social justice. The Philippine economy is ruled no longer by the tyranny of excessive regulation or of corporate monopoly but by the invigorating regime of market forces and free competition. Global competitiveness, in place of political contention, is now the watchword throughout the land.

All this is being carried out with the most meticulous respect for human rights in accordance with the national consensus and the deepest convictions of our people. It is being achieved within the framework of our democratic institutions. For we are convinced that there is no substitute for respect for human rights and democracy in the achievement of long-term stability and progress, as well as in the assurance of human dignity and the fulfilment of human aspirations.

The new situation in the world gives us new hope and a brighter promise. But grave dangers and tragic situations remain. Old scourges continue to torment the human family; new agonies confront it.

Religious intolerance and the rise of nationalist ambitions have supplanted ideological fanaticism as the fuel for the fires of conflict that now burn in too many places in the world. The collapse of empires has let loose the savage impulse to settle historical scores, redress ancient ethnic grievances, and set right real or imagined

injustices over national borders, the treatment of minorities, or the control of resources.

The tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the worst and most dangerous of these barbarities.

Despite - in certain cases, because of - the onset of a climate of peace, trafficking in the weapons of war sometimes continues unabated, dissipating resources, endangering people, imperilling the peace. The Philippines steadfastly supports measures to promote greater transparency in arms transfers and military expenditures, including the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms.

The Philippines urges the nuclear-weapon States, in the strongest terms, to restore the recently broken moratorium on all nuclear testing, and hopes that the international community will decide, through a comprehensive test-ban treaty, to cease for ever the testing of nuclear devices, which so gravely threaten the very existence of the human family. The Philippines favours the extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and calls upon all to abide strictly by its provisions, including the safeguards agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency. At the same time, we urge the nuclear-weapon States to fulfil their own obligations under the Treaty and further reduce their stocks of such weapons until they are no more.

Amid the rising tide of economic liberalization, the siren song of protectionism continues to entice nations with its fraudulent promise. Legitimate concerns over health, food safety, the environment, workers' welfare, and even human rights, including the rights of indigenous peoples - and now "social dumping" - are being invoked to clothe in various guises policies of naked protectionism.

Decisions on global finance continue to be made by a few, with the rest of the world standing by even though it is vitally affected. The burden of foreign debt continues to be a millstone round the necks of many developing countries, and the problem is often aggravated by decisions on interest rates and exchange rates in which those countries have no voice.

The Philippines continues faithfully to fulfil its external financial obligations, regardless of the extent to which that policy holds back our economic growth, constitutes a burden on our people, and imposes a heavy domestic political cost on our leaders. But we wonder whether the world has tried hard enough to devise creative solutions to this economic plague upon the developing countries. After all, some nations have been favoured with decisive - even radical - measures to alleviate their foreign debt, such measures having become politically useful to the creditor countries.

The ravages that the profligacy of man has wrought upon the Earth's delicate environment continue to endanger our fragile planet and many nations. The Philippines has kept faith with the commitments made by us all at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development because of its conviction that development cannot be sustained if the world's - and the country's - natural riches and the balance between them are destroyed.

No less destructive is the accelerating increase in the illicit trafficking in drugs, which destroys the lives of our people in the vigour of their youth. It gives rise to lawlessness and crime. It knows no national boundaries. We therefore appeal for the full and effective implementation of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme and the Global Programme of Action.

In situations of conflict, women, as well as children, become the most tragic victims by virtue of their inherent vulnerability. The systematic rape and murder of women and girls in Bosnia and Herzegovina is only the most outrageous instance of this abhorrent reality.

Similarly, in situations of extreme poverty, women - particularly migrant workers - are the most vulnerable to abuse. Detached from the family, away from their homeland, often living in their employer's home, unprotected by the country where they work, women migrant workers are especially susceptible to maltreatment. The abuses to which they are exposed, and often subjected, are a veritable litany of woe - denial of their rightful wages, excessive deductions by their employment agencies, intolerably long working hours, insufficient food, lack of medical care, the absence of any avenue for the redress of their grievances, physical attack, rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

We call upon the Assembly to keep among the areas of its concern the condition of women, who make up half of the world - in particular, the migrant workers among them. And we call upon the Governments concerned to enact laws and other measures for the protection of these migrant workers. We ask these Governments to cease the callous treatment of migrant workers as commodities that are subject only to the law of supply and demand.

These scourges of mankind - mass poverty, external debt, environmental damage, illicit drugs, abuses against women, the mistreatment of migrant workers - would be more effectively addressed if Governments, societies and the international community were to place people at the centre of development and international cooperation. This is what the World Summit for Social Development is intended to do. We urge the world's leaders and their Governments to ensure maximum participation in this milestone event in Copenhagen in 1995.

The world has changed radically, largely for the better. But old problems remain, and new challenges confront us. To respond to these problems under the new circumstances, and to deal with these new challenges, our Organization, the United Nations, must renew itself.

In few aspects of the work of the United Nations is this need for renewal more evident than in the Security Council. The structure of the Security Council was formulated at the very birth of the United Nations, at the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the cold war. Forty-eight years have passed. Massive changes have occurred in the world, particularly in recent years. Empires have crumbled. The ideological division of the world has melted away. The cold war has ended. The membership of the United Nations has multiplied from 51 at the time of its founding to 184 today.

And yet, apart from the enlargement of its membership 30 years ago from 9 nine to 15, the Security Council has not changed. It has remained small, unrepresentative, undemocratic, opaque. We recognize the reality of continuing imbalances in world power and the necessity for the Security Council to reflect this reality. But, surely, we must also recognize the reality of the worldwide trend towards, and the people's desire for, democratization and transparency in political affairs. Surely, the Security Council, the United Nations body with the greatest impact on international peace and security, must also reflect this reality in its size, in its structure, in its procedures, in its relations with other United Nations bodies, including the General Assembly.

We are, therefore, in favour of a searching reassessment of the structure, role and procedures of the Security Council with a view to its reform. And we urge that, in view of the repercussions that such a reform would have on other United Nations bodies and activities, this reassessment be carried out within the context of a thorough review of the Charter. The sober, rational and realistic proposals propounded yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Singapore might serve as a useful starting-point for our consideration of this important matter.

The entire United Nations is, in fact, in need of reform. In the new international situation, the enlarged demands upon the United Nations and the constraints on the available means require that the resources of the United Nations be carefully husbanded for their most efficient use. The concept and substance of management - and by that I mean the science of management - must be imposed upon the United Nations bureaucracy. Funds and other assets must be most meticulously safeguarded and effectively utilized. Duplication must be avoided, costs drastically cut, waste radically reduced, and corruption abolished.

I am sure that many developing countries share our desire that the United Nations should impose upon itself the austerity and discipline that are required of many of us by the international financial institutions.

We pay a tribute to the Secretary-General's attention to this aspect of his work. We welcome in particular the creation of the new post of Assistant Secretary-General for Inspections and Investigations as an indication of his determination to address this problem.

The Philippines is up to date in its contribution to the finances of the United Nations. It may be a small amount in the totality of the Organization's resources, but it is substantial in proportion to our financial capacity. We would not want to see it squandered. We cannot afford it. Neither can the United Nations.

May I propose, then, that a group of men and women with both extensive experience and skill in corporate management and extensive exposure to the special requirements and problems of the United Nations be commissioned to study this question in greater depth and detail and with greater objectivity, and to make the appropriate recommendations. There are many in this Hall right now who would be eminently qualified to perform this task. The Philippines will explore the possibility of a draft resolution to this effect at a suitable time.

This is a matter of great and urgent necessity. For reforms in the United Nations will place the Organization in a better position to deal with the demands upon it in the second half-century of its existence and to fulfil in the next millennium the vision that its founding fathers had for this great and indispensable Organization.

Mr. KARABAYEV (Kyrgyzstan) *(interpretation from Russian)*: I wish to begin by congratulating the President and the other officers of the Assembly on their election to their high, responsible posts and by wishing them every success in their work, which will certainly yield positive results for us all.

The end of the twentieth century will go down in history as the period in which the cold war came to an end and which saw the dawn of a new world, a period of new opportunities to do things that only yesterday would have taken a miracle to achieve. It is enough to recall the historic agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the reductions in nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and, for my country, something that seemed impossible only very recently: the achievement of the high degree of sovereignty that permits us to speak from the rostrum of the General Assembly Hall.

I represent a small country that can be viewed as an oasis of democracy. But that is not strictly accurate: we are hardly surrounded by an empty wasteland. We are trying to find our place in a new, complex world. In that quest we are guided by the following definitions: In the political sphere, our quest means pluralism, allowing the existence of varied ideologies and parties that do not espouse violence or extremism; in the economic sphere, it means a policy designed to achieve a multi-faceted social market economy, with equal rights and freedoms for all economic entities; in the social sphere, it means a policy of self-reliance protecting the most vulnerable sectors of our population; in the legal sphere, it means legal safeguards for the interests of all citizens, economic entities, parties and movements, as well as for the State; in the area of religion, it means tolerance and the application of ethical principles; in the sphere of building the structures of State authority, it means forming coalition groups with broad participation by officials from many parties and movements.

The linchpin of our policy is acknowledgement of the priority of humanitarian values and of the natural right of the individual to happiness. The new Constitution of Kyrgyzstan clearly lays down these basic principles, through which we are attempting, in spite of difficulties, to establish our chosen State model.

My purpose in this statement is not just to give an idea of our Republic's political prospects. I shall try to take a broader approach to issues; perhaps to some extent this is a prerequisite for our acknowledgement by the world community. The process of the victory of democracy in Kyrgyzstan, and in the other Republics of the former Soviet Union, seems paradoxical and almost irrational. Revolutionary changes have taken place at the top levels of the political elite. These changes were welcomed, as I see it, primarily because by that time we had already achieved the democratic victory of *glasnost*. What happened could be expressed as follows: the storming of the Bastille was preceded by *The Marriage of Figaro*. Our reforms began not with the economy but with politics. How could it be otherwise, since Kyrgyzstan had no elements of a market economy, and property ownership was distorted? Kyrgyzstan today is one of the few independent States of the former Soviet Union to have adopted and be carrying out a programme of economic reforms for transition to a market economy, as approved by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

For a number of objective reasons pertaining to the structure of production and current shortages of energy sources, such as oil and gas, implementation of recommendations for our Republic has caused us social and economic difficulties. Our country has a dire need for medicines, and a balanced diet is lacking. Thousands and thousands of young people are coming into the cities from the villages without any real professional training or any chance of prospering. Furthermore, we cannot yet give our economy the necessary impetus to enable us quickly to solve these and other major social problems. We need investment. Like other relatively small countries, we need a kind of Marshall Plan. The experience of many States has shown that this would be profitable for the wealthy countries and donors in many ways.

I would not venture to say that, but for my firm conviction that the ability to empathize with the suffering of others has always been a strong point of the United Nations; in fact, it is what has given it its high standing in the eyes of the world. This is not a case of political parasitism. We firmly intend to pay off all of our debts, and we fully recognize that the usefulness of these policies can be measured only by mutual advantage, and that the results of any foreign policy activity, including the economic aspects, depend on the participation of others and the ability to pay, in the broad sense of the words.

For the world community, for large and small countries, one thing is becoming more evident: there exists not only economic power, the power of gold and production, not only brute military power, but also spiritual power. I am talking not about the cruel, soulless and heartless fanaticism of some people, not about trends and

faiths whose history is written in blood, but about lofty and pure ethical values which bind together people who espouse them. These values and ideals are the moral postulates of religion.

The President returned to the Chair.

I wish to draw attention to what I regard as a special topic. We have been witnessing tragic conflicts with religious roots. One possible solution to this problem would be to adopt a universal convention on freedom of religion, which would call upon people of different faiths to apply ethical and moral principles for the sake of peace and harmony.

The United Nations is recognized to be a universal Organization, and as such not to be at variance with other institutions of the world community. No, it is in those institutions, in the specialized agencies and regional organizations, that we find the embodiment of the ideals and principles of the United Nations. With this in view, I would like to draw attention to the problem of establishing a collective security system in Asia. In principle, the delegation of Kyrgyzstan agrees with what previous speakers have said in this regard. On the other hand, a collective security system in Asia cannot be established quickly, or as quickly as might be hoped. In this connection, no doubt the best we can do is to ask the Secretary-General to conduct a study, which could give us useful guidelines for future work on such an important problem.

Naturally, I have covered only a few issues, against the backdrop of upheavals in the political and social life of the world today. But I still hope that I have drawn attention to major issues of interest to us all.

Every State whose representative has addressed the Assembly has made recommendations, and further valuable recommendations and proposals will be made, based on the high ideals of our Organization, whose focal point should be the individual and his or her prosperity and happiness. We fully agree with these proposals and hope that the creative energy involved will not be self-destructive.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that at the 14th plenary meeting, on 4 October, I drew their attention to document A/INF/48/6, which contains a tentative programme of work and schedule of plenary meetings for the month of October. I also announced that the lists of speakers for all the items listed in document A/INF/48/6 were open.

Three of the agenda items scheduled for consideration in October are agenda item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization"; agenda item 11, "Report of the Security Council"; and agenda item 13, "Report of the International Court of Justice".

In connection with those items, I should like to remind members that the General Assembly, in paragraph 5 of resolution 47/233 of 17 August 1993 on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, encouraged Member States to participate actively in a substantive and in-depth discussion on, and consideration of, the reports of the Security Council and other principal organs of the United Nations, in order to fulfil the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

I should also like to inform members that a draft resolution on the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, issued as document A/48/L.2, is now available at the documents distribution centre in the General Assembly Hall.

Finally, may I say that in response to the concerns expressed earlier in the Assembly regarding documentation and services for the future work not only of the Assembly, but of our Committees, I addressed a letter to the Secretary-General on this matter, and following that we had discussions with Secretariat officials. I am led to believe that there will be a review of the limit set for documents. Consultations are now going on between the Secretariat and Missions to determine each Mission's needs. In this process of cooperation we may be able to respect the need for efficiency but at the same time ensure that Missions receive the necessary documents to guarantee the continuation of our work.

An effort will also be made to increase the number of meetings from the 53 slated, to cater for needs as they arise, and special consideration will be given to meetings of the Fifth Committee and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which are essential to the formulation of a budget for the Assembly. At the same time we will do everything possible to see that our working hours do not extend beyond 6 p.m., and certainly not to weekends, unless absolutely necessary.

Every effort will be made to ensure that documents are circulated in all languages, although it will not be possible to guarantee that they are distributed

simultaneously. In any case, documents will be distributed in the working languages, French and English, to meet our needs.

Finally, in order to ensure that we can monitor the situation so that our work is adequately prepared for, we will arrange for coordination between me, the Chairmen of the Committees and the Secretariat on a weekly basis to ensure that the situation is kept under constant review.

I thought I would mention this in response to the concerns expressed last week and to calm the fears that may still exist in the Hall with regard to our future meetings.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MUNGRA (Suriname): On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Suriname, I take great pleasure in welcoming you, Sir, to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. You bring to your high office great experience as a skilled diplomat, experience which will be useful in this epoch-making period for the Organization. Indeed, your election is a fitting tribute to you personally and an honour to your country. We are therefore most gratified to see a skilled and a distinguished son of our good neighbour, Guyana, presiding over our deliberations.

We thank your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the last session of the General Assembly.

We also take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless efforts in consolidating international peace and security.

Before proceeding, I should like to express the feelings of sincere sympathy of the Government and people of the Republic of Suriname to the Government and people of the Republic of India on the sad occasion of the tragic earthquake disaster in which so many lives were lost. I appeal to the international community to render the necessary effective support to India to alleviate the sorrow and suffering of the people involved.

I should like to take this opportunity to add to what numerous previous speakers have already said on behalf of the many people living in areas whose development difficulties, and their consequences, do not receive enough attention, because of the high priority given to issues of international peace and security. I am referring to developing areas that risk being forgotten, though they are inhabited by people who truly pursue welfare, well-being and prosperity, and seek true participation in the world community, where the principle of power will ultimately make way for the principle of interdependence within the international system.

Countries in the developed North usually succeed in strengthening their mutual relations in political and economic areas, and they are becoming increasingly interdependent. Thanks to a greater environmental awareness, we are becoming increasingly conscious that North and South depend strongly on one another. This interdependence, unfortunately, has not yet evolved sufficiently with regard to political and economic questions, and the views held by the North and the South on many essential issues, such as the alleviation of poverty and economic development, are still strongly divergent. Moreover, the interests of the North in many ways still prevail over those of the South.

In particular, the financial and technological dependence of the South on the North causes serious divergences. The discriminatory regulations that make it difficult for the South to gain access to international markets and the ever-changing conditions that make the flow of funds to the South almost impossible are, *inter alia*, factors that make the gap with the North almost unbridgeable.

In the past, agreements on multilateral and international cooperation, such as the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade, the Cartagena Commitment, Agenda 21 and the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, have been approved by the international community. Those commitments constitute a solid basis for strengthening global partnership for development. However, various programmes could not be implemented, and much still remains to be done to enhance multilateral cooperation.

Like many developing countries, Suriname has a serious shortage of external funds for its development process, despite its relative wealth of mineralogical and biological resources.

Certainly, we have succeeded, through maximum mobilization of our national forces, in coping with the political crisis that dominated the country in the 1980s, and Suriname has been able to join the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean that have managed to give meaning to the process of democratization. It is our joint responsibility to see that this momentum is preserved and that the euphoria of the victory of democracy over dictatorship, particularly in our region, does not have adverse effects.

Without broad-based development in our countries we shall not be able to provide democracy with a sound basis. For the democratic ideal is not an isolated political phenomenon, but one that is closely interwoven with the whole of the social and economic reality in our part of the world.

Without alleviation of the pressing debt burden, without an appropriate recompense for our most important export products, without credit facilities for the necessary production inputs, without an expansion of export possibilities and without the financial support of the richer countries, endeavours to realize a stable democratic constitutional State will prove to be in vain. We have noticed - not without concern - that in their attitudes towards developing countries some developed countries ignore the specific circumstances of those countries, which have fallen seriously behind in their development.

The political crisis which Suriname went through in the 1980s, and Suriname's related isolation from the important donors, caused a serious decline in the economic development of the country, which was further aggravated by the drastic reduction of the country's income from its main export products - more specifically, alumina and aluminium.

In order to meet the resulting financial, economic and monetary crisis, we drafted a structural adjustment programme, which is now being implemented. We are aware that, despite the many theories and analyses in this field, there exists no blueprint for the resolution of economic crises that can be applied smoothly inasmuch as the object of adjustment is a very complex reality.

My Government is also aware that achieving economic recovery and furthering development while at the same time safeguarding political stability is no easy task and must be approached quite prudently. It is a process which will entail increased poverty, and can lead to a serious disruption of social life in the short term. Unfortunately, the divergent views held by Suriname's authorities and by the donors on the proper way to implement the adjustment programme puts great pressure on the space necessary for a policy which focuses primarily on the well-being of the nation as a whole.

The failure, in many countries, of stringent adjustment programmes undoubtedly relates to a perspective which fails to recognize sufficiently the reality of developing countries at the present time and ignores the real aspirations of humankind. In such a state of affairs, dialogue between North and South is difficult and strained. The North itself has succeeded in developing a number of mechanisms to solve differences, in which the consistent application of the principles of equality and mutual respect commands our attention. Such consistent use of these principles could also, perhaps, open the way to fruitful dialogue with the South.

In 1992 Suriname and the Kingdom of the Netherlands signed a Framework Treaty. This Treaty, together with the 1975 Treaty, provides a basic framework for substantial support from the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the developmental aspirations of the Republic of Suriname. It is with pleasure that we can announce here that, within the framework of these treaties, positive cooperation was realized last year, which contributed substantially to the successes in consolidating the restored democracy in Suriname, strengthening the constitutional State and protecting human rights, as well as in establishing and maintaining peace after the end of the armed struggle in the interior of the country.

However, some questions have been raised as to the motives for this cooperation in the light of the recent attitude of the Treaty partner regarding support for the recovery of our country's economy.

Despite many efforts on the part of the international community, the Uruguay Round negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which could provide the framework for a comprehensive and sound basis for future trade relations, are still ongoing. The Government of Suriname looks forward to an early and balanced conclusion of the Uruguay Round with a

view to promoting the establishment of a just and equitable multilateral trading system.

Recession in the world economy, stringent budgetary policies in donor countries, trade problems and domestic factors in a number of countries have dampened the hope in many developing countries for a steady flow of development aid. Concurrently, new claims on external financial resources are being made, so that allocations for future aid can further cloud the outlook for multilateral aid. The general trend at present is a marked increase in contributions to peace-keeping operations and a clear decline in funds for operational activities.

The annual peace-keeping budget has increased fivefold, and is expected to be $3,673,000,000 for 1993, while voluntary contributions to the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the United Nations Children's Fund have declined by about 10 per cent. In one of his reports, the Secretary-General noted that very serious problems caused by civil unrest and other sources of strife affect an increasing number of people who are often among the most vulnerable groups of the population, placing particularly difficult demands on United Nations operational activities.

Failure to address issues such as the alleviation of poverty, underdevelopment, unemployment, illiteracy and the threat to the environment because of a lack of financial resources can cause social tensions. This, in turn, can generate social disintegration and, eventually, the destabilization of the political system. Hence, an agenda that tends to reflect mainly international peace and security problems is not constructive. More and more it is recognized that favourable economic and social conditions can help strengthen peace and security. Therefore, we favour a programme based on a combination of political, economic and social factors together with global security.

The social crisis of the 1990s may be considered a result of, *inter alia*, world-wide growing poverty, particularly in the developing countries, unemployment and social upheavals. It is therefore gratifying to note that preparations are being made for a World Summit for Social Development in 1995. It is our hope that the core issues of the Summit directed towards the strengthening of the process of overall social development will be addressed during the preparatory process and that agreement can be reached, in a spirit of consensus, on matters of such vital human importance.

Agenda 21, adopted during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, and the subsequent establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development, are important guides for the international community in achieving sustainable development. UNCED also underscored the need to provide developing countries with adequate resources and to acknowledge the urgency of making technology, especially environmentally sound technology, available to that end. However, the progress achieved to date in obtaining new and additional financial resources is disappointing. Hence, we welcome the Commission's decision to establish two working groups to tackle the two issues.

My Government supports a timely and strict implementation of the Agreement signed by President Aristide and General Raoul Cedras, containing arrangements made with a view to reaching a political solution to the Haitian crisis. The United Nations and the Organization of American States are playing a major role in implementing the Agreement reached at Governors Island in New York. We are deeply distressed by the recent developments in Haiti, which could jeopardize the return of President Aristide. We strongly appeal to the military leaders in Haiti to uphold their promises and to create the atmosphere of calm required for the full application of the Agreement.

My delegation has always stated that the principles of the United Nations Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council, provide the best concrete basis for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East. We are therefore moved that the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have finally started a negotiating process which could create the conditions for peace. The Agreement that was mutually recognized and signed is a courageous step in that direction. We congratulate both Israel and the PLO on this historic deed and we appeal to the international community to use this momentum to bring peace and prosperity to the whole region.

My delegation welcomes the progress made so far by the multilateral party negotiating process to a negotiated settlement and national elections in South Africa. A political settlement will lead to the end of apartheid and establish a new, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The destructive character of apartheid has caused so much harm to the people that it is only fair that in this new era, every effort must be made to overcome social and

economic disparities so that peace and stability can be established. We therefore expect the international community to fully and generously support the new South African Government with assistance for the reconstruction and development of the nation.

Like many others in the world, my country is troubled by the continuing horrifying events taking place in Angola and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We cannot let the suffering and degradation continue. The bloodshed, hatred and hostilities must end now, for the people concerned have the right to live in peace.

World-wide drug abuse and trafficking remain a matter of deep concern, not only in our region but in the world as a whole. Despite measures and strategies geared towards the elimination of drugs, it is sad to note that drugs can be obtained for illicit purposes virtually everywhere in the world. This is, indeed, an unfortunate development, since it was expected that after the Global Programme of Action was adopted, together with the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline of Future Activities in Drug Abuse Control, the situation would improve substantially. We thus support the view that efforts against drug abuse and trafficking must continue in a balanced and concerted manner.

The end of the East-West confrontation has resulted in a slowdown of the arms race and reduced the threat of armed conflict. We regret to observe, however, that the spread of conventional arms continues to take on a dangerous magnitude, while at the same time armed conflicts are increasing, causing the tragic loss of numerous innocent human lives. Ongoing conflicts have already resulted in more than 100 million refugees world wide, 30 million displaced persons and hundreds of millions of unexploded mines. It is time to recognize that trade in conventional arms should be drastically curbed.

In the context of global security, the question of the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continues to be an important one. My delegation is in favour of a universally applicable and internationally verifiable comprehensive test-ban treaty. Such a treaty would strengthen international security and would represent a further step towards nuclear disarmament.

The set of principles contained in the report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" provides a comprehensive framework for the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation follows with keen interest the activities of the United Nations in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building. We are aware that at present some 70 areas of conflict or potential conflict exist throughout the world. In this respect, we welcome the involvement of regional organizations that can render valuable assistance in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the peaceful settlement of disputes.

According to the Charter of the United Nations, Member States have entrusted to the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The balance of political and economic power in today's world has drastically changed. Consequently, the premise that brought about the structure of the Security Council is no longer valid. The general debate last year on the issue of equitable representation and an increase in membership of the Security Council, which led to the adoption of resolution 47/62, can, it is hoped, contribute to a more equitable geographical representation in the Council and to enhancing the democratization process of the work of the Council by making its deliberations more transparent.

The expectations in the developing world that the post-cold-war era would create new development perspectives have not yet materialized. However, the increasing pauperization of large parts of the world demands the taking of urgent and decisive action to offer those people prospects for change and improvement in their daily living conditions. To this end, our Organization will have to strengthen its prominent role as a factor for development and will have to make the appropriate mechanisms effectively operational.

It is important for all Member States to provide the United Nations with legitimate room for that purpose. Suriname will, to the extent possible, make its contribution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.